

Message Text

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 IO-06 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SP-02 INR-05
CIAE-00 DODE-00 L-01 EUR-08 PM-03 ACDA-10 DHA-02 /061 W
-----211228Z 126789 /22

R 211104Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3760

INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0237

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RH, TZ

SUBJECT: "NEUTRAL FORCE" FOR RHODESIA

1. SUMMARY: TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KADUMA IS MAKING A FULL SCALE DIPLOMATIC PUSH IN DAR ES SALAAM FOR A "NEUTRAL" MILITARY FORCE OF COMMONWEALTH, OAU, OR UN TROOPS AS ESSENTIAL TO AGREEMENT ON A TRANSITION ARRANGEMENT FOR RHODESIA. HE SEES PATRIOTIC FRONT AS INEVITABLY SUPPLYING TRANSITION PRIME MINISTER BUT CONSIDERS ELECTIONS ESSENTIAL PART OF TRANSITION PROCESS AND PROFESSESS READINESS SEE ANY NATIONALIST CANDIDATE AT HEAD OF INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT. INDICATIONS ARE TANGOV STILL SETS CONSIDERABLE STORE ON NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER KADUMA CALLED ME IN JANUARY 20, TOGETHER
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WITH AUSTRALIAN, JAPANESE, SWISS, AND CANADIAN AMBASSADORS AND CHARGES FOR "BRIEFING ON RHODESIA". SESSION APPARENTLY CONSTITUTED LAST IN SERIES OF THREE OR FOUR DURING WHICH SIMILAR BRIEFING WAS GIVEN TO NORDIC, SOCIALIST, COMMONWEALTH, EC, AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES. KADUMA BEGAN BY NOTING APOLOGETICALLY THAT HE HAD NOT INCLUDED US IN EARLIEST BRIEFINGS BECAUSE HE KNEW BRITISH WERE KEEPING US INFORMED.

3. KADUMA'S MAIN POINT WAS THAT SUCCESS OF RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS NOW TURNED ON COMPOSITION AND CONTROL OF MILITARY FORCES DURING TRANSITION PERIOD. THIS IS CRUX OF ARGUMENT RE TRANSFER OF POWER. BRITISH ARE UNWILLING TO INTRODUCE THEIR OWN FORCES. AFRICANS CANNOT ACCEPT SMITH'S ARMY WITH ONLY COSMETIC CHANGES. WHITES WILL NOT ACCEPT ZIPA. TRULY MIXED OR COMBINED WHITE-ZIPA ARMY SIMPLY WOULDN'T WORK. ONLY ANSWER IS A NEUTRAL MILITARY FORCE WHICH MUST (A) BE RESPONSIVE TO AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER AS WELL AS BRITISH/RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, (B) UNDERTAKE DO JOB OF TRAINING ZIPA AS POST-INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL ARMY, AND (C) LEAVE ZIMBABWE COMPLETELY AS SOON AS INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED. IF SUCH A FORCE EXISTED, KADUMA OPINED, PRESENT PROPOSAL FOR NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MIGHT BE WORKABLE AND OTHER FORMULAE NOW BEING DISCUSSED BY IVOR RICHARD WOULD PROBABLY BE NEGOTIABLE.

4. SPELLING OUT HIS IDEAS, PARTIALLY IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS, KADUMA SAID:

(A) SMITH'S ARMY DOESN'T HAVE TO "SURRENDER" BUT MUST BE DEMOBILIZED DURING TRANSITION PERIOD;

(B) ZIPA WOULD NOT AND COULD NOT BE DISARMED BUT COULD BE COUNTED UPON ABSOLUTELY NOT RPT NOT TO FIGHT DURING TRANSITION;

(C) AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES WOULD CONTINUE GO THROUGH PROCESS OF CONSOLIDATION; ZAPU AND ZANU WERE BECOMING ZIPA; OTHER ELEMENTS WOULD BE ADDED TO ZIPA DURING TRANSITION PERIOD TO
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PRODUCE FINAL POST-INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL ARMY. (THESE COULD INCLUDE "RIGHT KIND" OF WHITES WHO WANTED STAY.);

(D) POSSIBILITIES FOR SUPPLYING NEUTRAL FORCE INCLUDED UN, COMMONWEALTH, OAU;

(E) BRITISH SHOULD TAKE INITIATIVE TO GET NEUTRAL FORCE TOGETHER;

(F) ITS COMPOSITION AND ROLE COULD BE SETTLED BY BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER; AND

(G) IT SHOULD BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT NEUTRAL FORCE WOULD NOT BE CALLED UPON TO ENFORCE DECISIONS BUT ONLY TO GUARANTEE THOSE WHICH WERE AGREED TO IN ADVANCE BY BRITISH, NATIONALISTS, AND WHITE RODESIANS.

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LIMDIS

5. OTHER POINTS MADE BY KADUMA IN RELATIVELY WELL-ORGANIZED
AND LUCID BRIEFING WERE:

(A) AFRICANS WERE ANXIOUS TO SEE END OF HOSTILITIES BUT MUST
BE SURE OF OUTCOME FIRST. IF THEY COULDN'T BE, THEY WERE SET FOR
LONG DUEL WITH SMITH.

(B) IT WAS FIGHTERS WHO HAD MADE NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE, LUSAKA
ENDORSEMENT OF PATRIOTIC FRONT WAS TO STRENGTHEN THEM.

(C) AS TO IMPLICATION OF THIS FOR GENEVA, IF NATIONALISTS WERE
WILLING TO TALK TO WHITES THERE, THEY WOULD CERTAINLY BE WILLING
CONTINUE TALK WITH OTHER BLACKS. BRITISH WERE CLEVER; THEY COULD
MANAGE SITUATION AT GENEVA.

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(D) THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WAS NOW IN THE POSITION OF A MAJORITY
PARTY. THE BLACK PRIME MINISTER OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT
WOULD HAVE TO BE ITS LEADER (WHICHEVER LEADER THE FRONT CHOSE).

(E) BUT ONE OF THE MAIN PURPOSES OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT WOULD BE TO HOLD ELECTIONS; TANZANIANS HAVE "NO OBJECTIONS TO MANY PARTIES; ONLY TO MANY ARMIES"; OTHERS HAVE SOME SUPPORT; IF MUZOREWA OR SOMEONE ELSE ELECTED, FINE; ZIPA WOULD OBEY HIM. NEWLY-FOUNDED ZUPO IS IRRELEVANT FOR TIME BEING; IT COULD HAVE ROLE IN FUTURE.

(F) THERE IS A PLACE FOR GUARANTEED MINORITY RIGHTS IN A ZIMBABWE SETTLEMENT BUT ONLY FOR MINORITIES WHO ARE "PREPARED TO WORK WITH AND ARE ACCEPTABLE TO" THE MAJORITY -- I.E., NOT SMITH AND HIS KIND.

(G) BRITISH HAVE BEEN HELPFUL IN AGREEING ON RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, BUT MUST COME A BIT FURTHER ON THE QUESTION OF THE ARMY; IF BRITISH WILL NOT SUPPLY OWN FORCES AND INSIST ZIPA BY ITSELF IS NOT ACCEPTABLE DURING TRANSITION, THEY SHOULD GET AGREEMENT ON AND SET UP NEUTRAL FORCE.

6. COMMENT: KADUMA DID WORKMANLIKE JOB IN MODEST BUT SELF-CONFIDENT MANNER. HIS PRESENTATION, I BELIEVE, REFLECTS IMPORTANCE TANGOV STILL PLACES ON NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. HOW CRITICAL HIS NEUTRAL FORCE IDEA IS NOT YET CLEAR. HE MOOTED A "THIRD FORCE IDEA" SOME MONTHS AGO WHICH WAS SHORTLY THERE-AFTER DEBUNKED BY NYERERE. HOWEVER, IT IS DOUBTFUL HE WOULD NOW BE GIVING IT FULL DRESS DIPLOMATIC PUSH UNLESS PRESIDENT WAS AT LEAST PREPARED TO TRY IT OUT. I EXPECT SEE PRESIDENT SOME TIME NEXT WEEK AND MAY GET ADDITIONAL BASIS FOR EVALUATION.
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Status: NATIVE
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